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cause of turmoil and inter-tribal feuds."[1] Often the weaker tribes were reduced to great poverty and distress. New combinations would then be formed, and the victors of one year frequently became the vanquished of the next; but the bonds of cohesion were frail, and even a slight shock was usually sufficient to break up the alliance —an event repeatedly noted in the relations of the Hottentots with the early Dutch settlers.

The same capricious and unstable element runs through the history of the Nama tribes and their relations towards one another. "On the one hand," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "one finds a great deal of intermarriage taking place between those tribes which happen to be near one another, and a great deal of visiting between the members of families so connected is always going on. Yet, on the other hand, there has never been sufficient feeling of solidarity between the tribes, for the Nama, or for the Hottentots in general, to organise themselves against a common enemy even when the danger was exceedingly great. Always one tribe has been played off against the others by all other peoples with whom they have come in conflict. There are many instances in their history in which two tribes have made an agreement with one another for some common object, but such agreements have always come to naught. There is even an interesting document, signed by most of the Nama and Orlam chiefs, agreeing to sink all differences and unite against the common enemy, the Herero, but the agreement was never actually put into practice."[2] Even the bonds holding the clans together to form a tribe were never very strong, still less was there any possibility for the tribes to be welded together to form a nation.

Treatment of Strangers

Visitors as a rule can pass freely from one tribe to another. Such visits were common amongst the Hottentots themselves, even in the early days, especially between families connected by marriage. There is no mention of any distinctive ceremonial reception accorded to these native visitors, apart from the special rite, recorded by Mrs. Hoernlé, which serves to protect the stranger from the hostile ghosts of the place. Organised trading visits from one Hottentot tribe to another do not appear to have occurred to any extent, if at all. But, as we have seen, both Bantu peoples and Bergdama would come

[1] Op. cit., 240.
[2] Op. cit., 241. The documents referred to, dating up to 1878, is translated in the Report on the Administration of S.W. Affairs, 1920.

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439 609 to trade with the Namas, while from the beginnings of the European settlement white traders have moved freely among the Hottentots. No objection seems to have been raised as a rule to strangers coming in this way into the lands of the tribe. Only when misunderstandings arose or quarrels were provoked through high-handed treatment would trouble ensue. This happened in 1497, and Vasco da Gama, the first European to meet with the Hottentots, came into conflict with them in St. Helena Bay, and again in 1510, when Francisco d'Almeida, late viceroy of Portuguese India, was killed with sixty-four of his men in a skirmish with the Hottentots of Table Bay. But on the whole the earliest travellers who, prompted by motives of trade or by curiosity, pushed on to previously unknown tribes, speak of a friendly and even cordial reception.

[721]

609 579 485 In one instance at least there is a record of special usages governing the reception of strangers in more recent times. The missionary Hugo Hahn, who in 1844 visited Outib, chief of the *Gei ǁKhauan*, writes as follows: "I was received very cordially, and was also given a sheep for slaughter. There has existed in this tribe for some years a sort of police who see to it that every convenience is afforded to strangers—Nama, Bastards, or Europeans. When the traveller descends and compares, special functionaries take his horse or his oxen, remove the saddle, give the animals water, lead them to pasture and at night bring them into safety from the lions. They take care that he receives enough milk, others also meat, as well as water and wood, and that he is not troubled by the children or other people. He is given a special mat hut, roomy and clean, in which he can rest. If he is alone, one of the men must sleep with him, who keeps the fire going or performs any other necessary services. For me a special sleeping place was prepared, as they know my aversion to lice. When the traveller wishes to depart, he informs one of the attendants, who tells the chief, and at the time indicated his ox or his horse is ready for him, even if it is in the middle of the night. No one thinks of demanding or giving payment. Probably," he goes on to say, "this is a renewal of some good old custom, as I do not know of its like in any of the other tribes."[1]

609 579 Theophilus Hahn also speaks very highly of the great hospitality to strangers, but adds that if the guest does not ingratiate himself sufficiently, it may well happen that, once they have passed the

[1] Fourteen years earlier with Inquainez, when published in Moniss, "Die Hottentotten-Buschmänner über D.S.W.A.," 1918, p. 150.

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boundaries of the tribe, his escort, believing that they have now shifted the odium for the deed, may allow their avarice to come to the fore and will plunder all his goods.[1] It is evident, however, that the Hottentots in general are friendly to strangers, and willingly allow them to pass through the land, even if permission has not first been obtained. There is none of that rigid insistence on territorial exclusiveness which has made the Bushmen fight shy of any intrusion upon their lands.

Warfare

Where, however, parties of strangers entering the land wish to make use of it for pasturing their herds or for hunting, permission must first be obtained from the chief. This, as we have seen, is often given freely, while on the other hand a tribute may sometimes be demanded, as the Orlams found when they came into Great Namaqualand. At times permission may even be refused altogether, especially if there is not enough grass or water for all. If encroachment nevertheless takes place, it leads almost inevitably to war. Quarrels over intrusions of this sort are recorded among the Hottentots from the earliest historical times, and are said to have been the most frequent cause of war between neighbouring tribes. Cattle-lifting, especially when the herds have been allowed whether by accident or design to stray over the border, deliberate damage to another tribe's pasture grounds by setting fire to the grass, and the abduction of women are also mentioned as common causes of dispute. Reprisals were sure to follow, and when the one side sought to defend its possessions actual fighting took place. Some of the Cape Hottentot tribes, as a result of such grievances, were almost perpetually at feud with each other, and many are the little wars between them which figure in the early Cape Records.

These wars do not seem to have been attended with much loss of life.[2] The weapons employed were the same as those used in hunting —the spear, bow and arrow, and the kirri. Before commencing hostilities the injured side might send messengers to their opponents, stating the wrongs of which they complained and demanding adequate satisfaction. If this was refused, all the men of the tribe, under the leadership of their chief, would meet at some appointed place, and

[1] "Die Hottentotten," 1905-6; cf. Fritsch, op. cit., 386.
[2] Grevenkamp, "Uit den Oudsten Tijd," 308-9; Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 140-4; Fritsch, op. cit., 393-4; Barrow, op. cit., abridgt. 160-2, *passim*; Theal, *History of S. African before 1795*, vol. 2, *passim*.

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them with a dance on reed-pipes, or better, lark-pipes, *is !aka xaire*. The profane reed-dances or reed-songs are of a very different nature. Either the fate of a hero who fell in a battle or lost his life on a hunting expedition is deplored; and on such an occasion a performance is connected with it."[1]

The reed dances are usually held in the evening and often last through the whole night, especially when there is moonlight. The occasions of the */gein*, religious dances, are naturally determined by the character of the dance. Those in which the Moon is invoked are held at New Moon and at Full Moon; Hahn mentions another, at which *Tsui !Goab* is prayed to for rain, which is held when the Pleiades first appear above the eastern horizon; still another, in which */Gurub*, the Thunder, is invoked, even takes place, as we have seen, when a heavy thunderstorm is approaching.[2] The "profane" dances are held on any festive occasion, especially when anybody is emerging from a */naa* seclusion, as, e.g., in the girls' puberty ceremony. If any illustrious stranger visits a kraal, he also is often welcomed with a reed-dance, an honour accorded to several of the early European travellers.[3] But in all probability any bright evening, whether specially significant or not, provides the occasion for such an entertainment.

In these dances[4] the men normally form a ring, all facing inwards, each with the upper part of his body bent forward, and his lips on the pipe. Then, to the accompaniment of their music, they hop up and down on both legs simultaneously, the knees slightly bent and one foot in front of the other, and move about jerkily and slowly in this way. The women, "trolling" or singing with loud voices and clapping their hands in front of the face to the rhythm of the music, dance round the men in a larger outer ring. They move forward in small, often very small, steps, with buttocks prominently thrust out, and waggling their hips. There is no fixed number of dancers. The dance has such an irresistible attraction for the Hottentots that any group of dancers rapidly grows in size. Mothers with babies on their backs, women returning to the kraal with firewood or other burdens, attach themselves to the ring; even old matrons whose sight is failing, says von François, become as if electrified when they hear the dance music, and dance like energetic flappers!

[1] Op. cit., 272-3. [2] Ibid., 78-80, passim.
[3] Ibid., 78; cf. Wikar, "Beitrag zum von Plettenberg," 110.
[4] Schinz, op. cit., 311-2; von François, op. cit., 228; Schinz, op. cit., 311.

14:Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hamamoor FX13

776 that there is a Lord, whom they call Tui'qua. They also believe in a devil, to whom they give the name Gounu, but they do not care much about him."—(De Jong, "Reisen nach dem Vorgebürge der guten Hoffnung," Hamburg, 1803, vol. i. p. 274.)

‖Khâb, *the Moon, and* ‖Khoi, *the Lord.*

776 821 By order of the Dutch Governor, Ryk van Tulbagh, an expedition was undertaken to the Great Namaqua, which reached as far as the Kamob river, about lat. 27°. In the "Journal of Hop, the commander of that expedition, we find the following remark: "Their (the Namaqua) religion chiefly consists in worshipping and praising the new moon. The men stand in a circle together and blow on a hollow pipe or similar instrument, and the women, clasping hands, dance round the men. They continually sing in a praying manner, that the last moon had protected them and their cattle so well, and they hope the same from this new moon. The Colonas (very likely the ‖Haboun or ‖Haioben) whom we met, praised the moon, particularly that *he* (in Hottentot the moon is masculine) had brought them into contact with a nation from whom they had received so much kindness. Although these were the only rites, *we also observed that they had some idea of a Supreme Being, whom they call Chuyn* (the Nama ‖Khôb or ‖Khoeib), and who is great and powerful. For if they want to express that something is beyond their conception, then they say it is a work of *Chuyn*."—("Hop's Journal," pp. 86, 89.)

Heitsi-eibib, ‖*Gaunab, and* ‖*Gorib.*

609 We should have expected that the Swedish travellers, Thunberg and Sparrmann, men of great learning, would have been able to give us more particular information about the religion of the Khoikhoi. It, however, appears that their great learning on the one side made them underrate the natives. On the other hand the natives, as sensitive as

14.Hahn L-6 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

children to the thinly disguised contempt of the foreigners 699
rendered fruitless all attempts to gain deeper insight into their religious ideas, partly through a natural shyness and fear of ridicule, but chiefly through a stubborn unwillingness, based on a fear of ill-treatment, which still characterizes the Khoikhoi. These travellers utterly failed to get into the confidence of the natives. In justice to our travellers, however, I shall relate what they have recorded.

"By the side of the road," says Thunberg, who tra- 718
velled in the Eastern Province of our colony, "I observed a heap (stone heap) covered with branches and shrubs, on which each of our Hottentots in passing by, "threw some branches. Asking them for their reason in doing so, they answered that a Hottentot was buried there. (Thunberg, German edition, i. p. 84, Berlin, 1792.)

"Of a certain kind of greyish grasshopper (mantis fausta) 725
the people here believe that the Hottentots offer prayer to it."—(Thunberg, vol. i. p. 68.)

Sparrmann, again, is very doubtful whether the Hotten- 776
tots after all believe in a Supreme Being. He informs us that, according to the statement of the Khoikhoi themselves, they were too stupid to understand anything, they never heard of a Supreme Being. This, however, does not entitle our author to infer that the Khoikhoi had no God or religion. My experience would lead me to explain what Sparrmann relates. It is a striking feature in the nature of every savage, especially of a Khoikhoi, to pretend the greatest ignorance, though, for all that, one knows that he is very well informed on the subject. It is very trying and annoying indeed to a traveller.

But myths, tales, legends one seldom will get out of a native by questioning. He must be a very intelligent native, with an unprejudiced mind, who will answer at once questions of that kind to an inquisitive stranger, especially if he shows any hastiness.

Our author, however, did not believe in his own state-